


THE
MUTINIES.

IN
GOVERNMENT,

AND
THE PEOPLE.

BY
(A HINDU)
Kishore Chandra Mitra 1878



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THE SEPOY MUTINY.

The year 1857 has just passed away into the domain of history. The strange and terrible events of that year—events which have engrossed the attention and excited the sympathy of every civilized nation on the earth, belong now to the past and will be recorded by the future historian of India for the warning and instruction of human Governments to the end of time. Henceforth to the latest generation, the year now departed will be referred to as "*the year of the Sepoy Mutiny*"

The opening of that year was to the eyes of finite mortals cheering and auspicious. "Great visaged war had smoothed his wrinkled front." The sword drawn on the plains of Plassey had been sheathed on the banks of the Irrawaddy. The signs of the times indicated the entrance of the Empire on a period of profound repose. Tranquillity reigned throughout the land. The native army was regarded as loyal and true, the non-military classes were gratefully attached to British rule, no enemy menaced that rule from beyond the frontiers and our sovereign Queen was the "mistress of the Seas." The Friends of India thought the time had come when it would be proved upon the grandest scale that *Peace* hath her victories no less than War—a long series of unstained triumphs was anticipated by the advocates of

human progress. The foundations were thought to be already laid for new and improved systems of Law and Justice, Education and Material Development.

Alas! for the hopes and aspirations then cherished. A "clango" has come over the spirit of our dream. In the hour of fancied security, at the very point of time from which we looked forward to a brilliant and bloodless career of victories over moral, social and political evils, we had in our midst, even among those whom we recognised as the guardians of our peace, our property and our lives, foes more terrible, more cruel, and more unrelenting than our fears had anticipated in the darkest day of adversity and danger.

About eight months ago the Sepoy Mutiny broke out like a hurricane, uprooting all the land-marks of civilization, and wafting misery and desolation through the length and breadth of my fatherland. Its first alarming note was sounded near the ancient capital of Bengal, on the 18th February last, by the 19th Regiment N I refusing point blank to receive the greased Cartridges about to be served to them. It has since swelled into a Military Rebellion.

Its progress has been marked by atrocities unsurpassed in the records of crime. It has been stained by murders attended with every imaginable circumstance of aggravation and extending to helpless and unoffending women, children. It has swept away some existing systems and will alter the key-stone of others. It has shaken the whole fabric of Native as well as of European society. It is now the absorbing subject of conversation not only in the Drawing-Rooms of Chowringhee and Garden-Reach but in the Baitakhanas of Simla and Soba-bazar. At a time

of unexampled agitation like this when the most tremendous storm is sweeping over us when the difficulties which surround the Government are formidable and calculated to task its utmost energies —when it behoves every loyal subject to rally round that Government, and assist it with heart and hand, certain Europeans have banded together to hamper its action, and vilify its views, to cry down its native subjects as rebels and to preach against them prompt, sanguinary and indiscriminate vengeance. They have forwarded a petition to Parliament complaining of the weakness of Government and its incompetency to deal with the present crisis, representing the Asiatics as incapable of being governed by moral influence and praying for the removal of the Government from the East India Company and the substitution in its stead of the direct government of the Queen. They have carried their complaints to the foot of the throne, impeached the policy of Lord Canning and prayed for his removal as the responsible head of an administration which has refused to concede to their wishes and comply with their demands. They have organized a league and put forth a manifesto which is an echo of their petitions.

The petition to Parliament rightfully commences with an expression of the anxiety of the petitioners for the condition and future prospects of India. The present condition of our country is deeply to be deplored and calculated to awaken the sympathies of all residing within the limits of civilization. The revolt has not only occasioned incalculable injury, but if not soon arrested, as it will surely be, may put back the country for a quarter of a century. But it is an ill wind that blows no

body any good. The almighty and beneficent Architect of the universe is ever "from seeming evil still edueing good" I believe that in the inscrutable course of His providence, even national calamities are rendered subservient to national good. I believe that however gloomy may be the aspect of affairs now light is blooming in the distance. I believe that the cloudy Present is pregnant with the elements of a bright Future. I have faith in the immensity and elasticity of the resources of my country. I am very much mistaken if the revolt does not provoke a most searching and enlightened discussion into the causes of this gigantic evil and ultimately lead to a scientific and deliberate reconstruction of the whole Judicial, Fiscal and Political systems. There is therefore no cause for despair.

•• The petition next states that "the native belief in the prestige of British power has been destroyed and where the Asiatic has no dread of physical force he has no respect for moral influence." This is not true. The native belief in the prestige of British power has taken deep root and is not so easily extirpated as the petitioners would for their interested ends fain make their countrymen in England believe.

// The insurrection is essentially a Military Insurrection. It is the revolt of a lac of sipoys educated in the school of European warfare and amply supplied with all the "means and appliances" of European invention. It has nothing of the popular element in it. It is not the result of any mis-government. Those who believe it to be such betray their entire ignorance of the genius of my countrymen. The proportion of those who have joined the rebels sinks into nothingness when compared

with those whose sympathies are enlisted with the Government. While the former may be counted by thousands, the latter may be counted by millions. It is notorious that the insurrection was not actively participated in by a majority or even by a considerable portion of the population. The people of the oldest, richest, and most enlightened province, viz Bengal, the people of the Presidencies of Bombay and Madras, the people of the recently acquired territory of the Punjab did not only not fraternize with the rebels, but the better and higher orders of them sincerely sympathise with the Government, and view with horror and regret the crimes committed by those wretches, because they are crimes not merely levelled against English domination but inimical to civilization,—crimes subversive of all progress crimes which have been justly described by the Minister of the United States to “constitute them in perpetrators what pirates are, what cannibals in the *Pejee* Islands are, enemies of the human race and meriting not from one nation, not from one people, but from the whole of the human race, summary and peremptory extirpation.”

The ranks of the rebels have been swelled not by the people at large but by liberated *Kardies* and the *Budmashes* who infest every large town. With some exceptions which I can count on my fingers, the natives of this Presidency have not only remained firm in their allegiance, but have accorded valuable support to the authorities to say therefore that their belief in the prestige of British Power has been destroyed, is simply absurd. For instance, not a single native zemindar, merchant or official of Bengal Proper shares in that belief, but

is on the contrary prepared to stake his all on the perpetuation of the British Supremacy. They know and feel that their present interests and future prospects are bound up with the re-establishment of that supremacy, on a firmer and more secure basis. I am free to confess that the natives, with some splendid exceptions, have not afforded that amount of aid in the suppression of the mutinies which it was incumbent on them to do. The unwarlike and lethargic habits of a portion of them incapacitated them from rendering that military service which would have been most acceptable at this crisis. But they know and feel that it is both their duty and interest to stick to that country which has done so much to advance their own personal services at personal sacrifices, and most liberal contributions in money and goods have been unhesitatingly and cheerfully rendered by many of them. I can point to many individual examples of loyalty and devotion, which would conclusively show that the sympathies of our countrymen are entirely with our rulers—a sympathy not less deep but exhibited in a substantial manner. To say therefore that “where the Asiatic has no dread of physical force, he has no respect for moral influence,” is to do gross injustice to him. The assertion is a libel on the earliest civilized portion of mankind. It is contradicted by the past history of British India. What but the beneficent moral influence of the English rulers could hold one hundred and fifty millions of natives in subjection to a handful of foreigners. To suppose British bayonets have retained British India is simply absurd. All the statesmen who have ruled India, lived in India, or studied India, have unanimously and emphatically repudiated the doctrine of physical

force, and distinctly recognized the doctrine of moral force. So early as 1793, the illustrious Cornwallis pronounced his deliberate opinion that "we may be therefore assured that the happiness of the people, and the prosperity of the country is the firmest basis on which we can build our political security. When the landholders find themselves in the possession of profitable estates, the merchants and manufacturers in the enjoyment of a lucrative commerce, and all descriptions of people protected in the exercise of their religion, both the numerous race of the long oppressed Hindoos, and their oppressors the Mahomedans, will equally deprecate the change of a Government under which they have acquired, and under which they alone can hope, to enjoy those inestimable advantages." How signally have these beneficent anticipations been realized? Twenty years ago Lord William Bentinck said, that "India must be governed for her own sake and not for the sake of the 800 or 1,000 individuals who go there to make their fortune." Again, the Right Hon'ble Benjamin D'Israeli ridiculed in his memorable speech on the mutiny the idea of governing British India by British soldiers. "You might," said he, "as well govern India by the House of Commons." Col Sykes has declared that "it is physically impossible that our islands, with their population of 28 millions, can afford a perennial supply of troops to keep in subjection 181 millions of people, dispersed over an area of 14,66,576 square miles. Moreover, European troops cannot bear the exposure to which native troops are ceaselessly subjected on detached duties. In respect to the atrocities which have excited just indignation and disgust

of England, and indeed of Europe, I would hope and believe that they will be, with few exceptions, traceable to the 11,000 felons—miscreants who have been released from the different Jails.” At a meeting recently held at Derby, the Earl of Harrington paid an eloquent and well merited tribute to the Government of this country, and to the general affection and allegiance of the Hindoos. His Lordship justly deprecated the fashion of the present day, to refer all misfortunes that had occurred to the East India Company, and said “there had been a great cry in this country, particularly by the Press—especially the Free Press in India, who were making use of arguments against the civilization and enlightenment of the people of India. But had they not one hundred and fifty millions of people to govern in that country, and ought they not to rule them with the same liberal spirit and with the same justice as they did in their colonies, ought it not to be a Governor—by opinion and not by the bayonet? It was by the influence of opinion and the enlightened spirit of the country that we ought to govern. What was the rebellion? It was a mutiny of the Bengal Army unparticipated in by the people and even by the armies generally of the Presidencies of Bombay and Madras. The people remained loyal to the mother country and in many cases had protected Englishmen at the risk of their own lives. Let them only continue in a course of civilized policy and the sunbeams of liberty and progress would ultimately shine and luxuriate over the whole of India. This country could not govern British India as the Czar did the people of Russia, simply because to a great extent the people of India had already been enlightened.

It was not in the power of the British Nation It was not in the power of the mighty Press which almost governed this country. It was not in the power of the Imperial Parliament to bring the people of India back from a state of comparative moral enlightenment to a state of abject barbarism" It is refreshing to peruse these liberal sentiments at the present conjuncture when the cry of prompt, bloody and blind vengeance has been raised by a portion of the English Press and that class of men of whose sentiments it is the exponent, viz the adventurer class. Every unprejudiced person who has marked its tone will have been scandalized at it It has breathed any thing but that spirit of universal love and charity which is inculcated in the religion professed by those who have adopted it The Hurkaru Newspaper especially has advocated a most suicidal and diabolical policy The Editors of that and some other papers have not been content with denunciations against the rebels They have levelled the most insulting libels on the entire Native Community calculated to alienate the allegiance of the vacillating and weak-minded. They would pour in European troops, abolish the native army, confound the loyal with the disloyal portion of the native population, deal out prompt and indiscriminate punishments, deny the natives all share in the administration of their Country, deprive them of all situations of trust and emolument, appoint Barristers fresh from the Inns of Courts to the Judgeships and Magistrateships of Mofussil tribunals, and European Serjeants to Darogahships, Mohums and Jemadarships of Thanas, and in short govern the Country not for the subject many, but for the conquering and dominant few They would carry

on a crusade against all the natives. They would have Government embark in an eternal blood feud against its native subjects. Verily the gentlemen of the Press have dethroned the God of Christianity and set up in his stead a Pagan Moloch, at whose shrine they are prepared to sacrifice civilization and humanity. They have totally forgotten that vengeance belongs not to man but to his Maker. Let the policy laid down by them be once adopted and the revolt now confined to the North West Provinces will extend in other directions. Its suppression could never be effected without the sympathies of the masses being retained in favor of the Government. But stimulating European Soldiers to burn and plunder villages, to shed the blood of their prisoners and to massacre their unoffending and unsuspecting native comrades, is not the best way of enlisting those sympathies.

I would have it distinctly understood that I am for strong and decisive measures for the suppression of the mutiny, the restoration of tranquillity and the vindication of the authority of Government. I would have offences against the state so promptly, effectually and signally punished as to deter others hereafter from perpetrating the same. I would not allow the miscreants who have massacred mothers with infants at their breasts to go at large with impunity in the Mofussil without receiving that condign punishment they so richly merit. I would have every sepoy who has been directly or indirectly mixed up with this mutiny tried, convicted and hanged. I would not relax in his favor the law which prescribes death as the punishment of mutiny. I would not tie the hands of the local military authorities who must be the best judges

of what is to be done, believing as I do that to hamper them would be to postpone the suppression of the revolt I am in short equally opposed to undue leniency and undue vengeance. Let us have stern but discriminating justice. Let us not class the loyal natives who may be counted by millions with the disloyal who only number a few thousands. I am prepared to make every reasonable allowance for men whose hearts have been torn and whose passions have been inflamed by the murders and worse than murders of their country women and children. I know their judgments on their neighbours cannot be calm and dispassionate. But I can see no reason why they should vituperate the entire Native Population because the Army of Bengal has revolted. I see no reason why they should calumniate the Government, because Government, actuated by the purest motives and having a due regard for the future, has refused to treat that population as rebels and has directed that punishments for offences against the state should be dealt out with justice and discrimination. I must deprecate the double cry raised by them of "Down with the Government" and "Down with the natives of India." Neither can I cherish any sympathy for the feeling which now animates them. It is one of intense selfishness. It is essentially savage and vindictive, and to quote the language of the *Times*, "absorbed into ■ blind and indiscriminate exasperation, and as resolving itself into the more hatred of ■ dark skin, into ■ pure unreasoning antipathy of the Hindu." It hungers and thirsts for the burning of villages and the hanging up of the Ryots like the leaves of Vallombrosa to the branches of the nearest Banian or Peopul tree. But I hold that every life

taken except in fair fight or after trial and conviction held upon the case is just as much a foul murder as the massacre of the Europeans at Meerut, Cawnpore and Fattchpore.

But to return to the petitioners. They complain that there are no private or corporate rights that can be effectually opposed to the Government, nor is there any representation of public opinion. This may be true, but it is only due to the Government to state, that in spite of the absence of such rights, it has been in advance of the boasted Free Press of India and that class of the community whose interests alone that Press represents. I can point to Notes and Reports, Minutes and Memorandas, Dispatches and Discussions, Regulations and Resolutions which evidence a far higher appreciation of the obligations of the governing body and the claims of the natives than the Englishman Newspaper, the Bengal Hurkaru, the Indigo Planters' Association and the Calcutta Photographic Society can supply. The so called Black Act which has in fact produced the present agitation, and which I shall presently notice in more detail in connection with the petition, affords undoubted evidence of the disposition of Government to deal justly and impartially by all classes, Natives and Europeans.

The petition condemns the Act XV. of 1857, under which restrictions have been placed on the Press of India. But the reasons set forth in the letter of Government to the Court of Directors for the passing of this law are unanswerable, and supercede the necessity of my wasting any argument in its support. The document gives the whole genealogy of the Liberty of the Indian Press, and conclusively shows the necessity and propriety of cur-

tailoring it at this crisis. But perhaps the petitioners are so sore because the law was not confined to the Native Press. To have made a distinction between the European and the Native Press would have been not only unjust in principle but suicidal in practice. While since the passing of the Act not one native paper has been "warned," more than half a dozen English papers have been warned and warned over again and one of them, viz the Bengal Hurkaru, shut up for violating the conditions of its license. So much for making an exceptional law in favor of the English Press.

There are people who complain of the gagging law because they believe the English Press represents the opinions of the Indian Public, but they should be disabused of this erroneous notion. The Englishman Newspaper for instance no more represents the sentiments of that Public than the Quarterly Review represents the sentiments of the Whigs. Neither this nor the Bengal Hurkaru has for the last twelve months contained an exhaustive or even a suggestive article connected with the moral or material improvement of the myriad millions of India. The Salt Law of Mr Chant and the Ryot Law of Mr Currie, though fraught with results of the last importance to thirty millions of people, have not been honored with any lengthened notice in their columns. Those columns are generally disfigured with diatribes against the entire native population, the Members and Secretaries of Government, the Judges of the Sudder Court the Magistrates of Calcutta, the Deputy Magistrates of Mofussil, and other officials, with correspondence describing the prospects of indigo and containing graphic accounts of pig-sticking excursions where half a chest of pale ale was consumed.

To call the English Press in India the representative of public opinion is a misnomer. This fact has not only been affirmed in the memorable minute of Lord Dalhousie the enlightened Governor of Madras, but is dawning on the people of England. The Edinburgh Review of October 1857, states that "the English Press in India represents the opinions of European settlers in the country or half-castes not in the Company's service. This class of persons is bitterly hostile to the existing Government of India from which they conceive themselves to be excluded; and even the presence of danger threatening the Empire and their own personal safety could not restrain them from assailing the responsible Agents of the Government with a vindictive fury of which we have no experience in this country, unless it be—the Indian pamphlets now before us. At a suitable moment their complaints will be heard, but the attempt to urge their remonstrances at such a crisis, proves they were under the influence not only of irritation but of fear."

The petitioners next complain of the "attempted imposition of the Black Act" by Government. The complaint is not now made for the first time. It has been repeated for nearly a quarter of a century. The proceedings of the Anti-Black Act Meeting recently held at the Town-hall show the lengths to which those opposed to the measure are capable of going. There were present at the meeting substantial Merchants, Merchant's Clerks, Brokers, Broken Brokers, Directors of the defunct Union Bank, Indigo Planters and Assistants to Indigo Planters. The speakers spoke of the Magna Charta and Bill of Rights. They dwelt on the inestimable advantages of trial by a Cossitollah

Jury. They were eloquent on their birth-rights as Englishmen. But they were simply and entirely oblivious of the rights of the hundred and fifty millions of Natives and voted all the Native and all the European Officials of Government as incapables and ignoramuses. The Resolution on this subject declares them "as alike unfitted for the Judicial Bench by want of legal training and of independence of position." Let us see whether the right claimed by the petitioners and other exemptionists to be free of our Mofussil Courts and to be tried only by the Supreme Court and Jury has ever existed in fact, or ever been affirmed by the British Legislature or recognized by that of India.

The renewal of the Charter in 1833 first brought the subject under the consideration of Parliament. Then the presentation of the memorial of the British subjects, for the repeal of Act 11 of 1836, rendering them amenable to the jurisdiction of the *Civil* Courts in the Mofussil, gave rise to a most enlightened and exhaustive discussion on it. On both those occasions the Legislature repudiated the doctrine, that it was the privilege of Englishmen to carry their laws with them wherever they go; and it came to the decision that "there was not one law for one man and another for the other." The distinguished Statesmen and the profound Jurisconsults of the day poohpoo'd the claim of exemption now put forth by the petitioners, and were strongly and unanimously of opinion that the European must be placed under the same power which legislates for the Native. The claim of exemption has therefore no constitutional or statutory sanction, and cannot be supported by any single argument which would stand the test of reason.

and enquiry. The subject has been investigated by Parliament, and its decision has directed the Royal Commissioners for the framing of the Penal Code and the Code of Procedure.

The commissioners were men whose learning, experience and talent entitle their opinions to the highest consideration—men thoroughly acquainted with the constitutional and legal rights of British born subjects, and who had nothing to gain by abrogating any of those rights. Such men have ignored the claim of exemption and declared that “no person whatever shall by reason of place of birth or by reason of descent be in any criminal proceeding whatever exempted from the Jurisdiction of any of the Criminal Courts.” This measure, which emphatically affirms the principle of equality of law, and sweeps away the invidious and unjust distinction which has hitherto been made between British born subjects and the other classes of the Queen’s subjects in India, was discussed in the Honourable the Legislative Council of India on the 7th March 1857, and received the hearty support of all the speakers, among whom were Sir James Colville and Sir Arthur Buller, the respected Judges of that very court whose Jurisdiction it was contended by the orators of the Anti Black-Act meeting was essential to the protection of the lives and liberties of Britons in all parts of the Country. Both the learned Chief Justice and the second Judge of the Supreme Court are very unlikely persons to be either ignorant of the rights of British born subjects in a British dependency, or infamous enough to betray them for any personal object; yet they both unhesitatingly approved of the principle of the

measure. The Chief Justice denied that the exclusive privilege enjoyed by British born subjects with respect to the trial of offences committed by them was an unalienable and indefeasible heritage and right, and bore his weighty testimony to the defective state of the present law, under which those offences went untied and unpunished in the Mofussil by reason of the inconvenience, difficulty and delay in bringing the parties to Calcutta.

The "exclusive" resolutions of the Anti Black Act meeting of the 14th Feb 1857 contrast very unfavorably with those of a great public meeting to petition for the extension of the Criminal Jurisdiction of the Mofussil Courts, held at the Town Hall on the 6th April 1857. It was most respectably and numerously attended—the hall being crowded to suffocation. The proceedings commenced with the perusal of a letter from Rajah Radhacant Bahadur, regretting his inability to attend the meeting, and expressing his entire approval of the principle of the so called Black Act. After noticing some of the injurious effects of the present law, he proceeded to say

"It is indeed strange that the British Legislature should have delayed so long to pass a law founded upon the broadest principles of Justice and humanity, but stranger still that many of the British Inhabitants of India should protest against the enactment and stigmatize it by christening it "The Black Act"

"The law proposed would strike at the foundation of this inhuman principle. Far from deserving the epithet of the 'Black Act,' I would call it "the White Act." It would be compared to the sun in his meridian splendour, shedding the refulgent beams of justice on all classes of people equally, and dim indeed are their eyes with prejudice who cannot behold its genuine lustre. A celebrated Persian Poet has aptly said—

"If Bat's eyes ■■■ not ■■■ in the day, what fault is there in the rays of the sun."

'Dem est thou the truth? it is better that ■ thousand eyes be o the blind than the Sun dark'

The first Resolution was moved by Rajah Portaub Chunder Singh Bahadur, who has Estates in seventeen districts. It was as follows:

"That in the deliberate judgment of this meeting just and sound policy as well as the altered circumstances of the Country, require that all classes of Her Majesty's subjects, within Her Majesty's Indian Dominions should, in all cases of criminal prosecution, for whatsoever description of offence, be amenable to the same laws and be tried by the same tribunals and that no section of the community should, by reason of place of birth, or religion or official position possess any exclusive privilege or supposed advantage, distinguish ■ them in the eye of the law from the rest of their fellow subjects. This meeting therefore earnestly hopes, that the principle, that no class of Her Majesty's subjects should be exempted from the criminal jurisdiction of any of the Mofussil Courts, will be fully carried out in the scheme of Criminal Procedure now under the consideration of the Legislative Council."

The Resolution was seconded by Roy Kissory Chund Mittra Bahadur, the Magistrate of the Northern Division of Calcutta, who after giving a historical sketch of the measure, thus proceeded:

"I further maintain, and my opinion is supported by ten years' experience, that the exemption of British subjects from the Mofussil criminal courts operates most prejudicially on the interests of the great ■■■ of the natives, and ■ in fact a gross and grievous wrong to them. It ■ tantamount to irresponsibility to law, and impunity to crime on the part of the privileged few, and to denial of justice to the subject many. Will any man tell me that the natives are under the same protection as the British subjects, so long as the latter are amenable to another law, and are triable by the Supreme Court only?"

"I presume it is not necessary to give you particular instances

of oppression, which are the natural and inevitable result of the present system of exemption, but the records of the Fouzdary Adawlut of Hooghly, Kishnagur, Rajsaye Pulna, Jessore and other districts would not only show the nature and extent of the crime committed by the Europeans, but also the impunity with which it is committed.

Again,

"I am free to confess that the Mofussil courts are susceptible of great improvement. I admit the officers presiding over them are deficient in legal training, though I am not prepared to admit, that in spite of this and their consequent inability to comply with all the technical requirements of law, they do not render substantial justice. I admit that the Mofussil Police is very defective, and entirely agree in all that has been said against it by the Hon'ble Mr. Halliday, in his unparalleled Minute. I unhesitatingly admit that the whole system should be reorganized and reformed, and I should be delighted to see a grand co-operative effort made by British born and other classes of Her Majesty's subjects, to effect such reorganization and reformation. But while I admit all these defects of the Judicial and Police establishments, I cannot acknowledge the justice of exempting from their operation a small section, consisting of persons who settle in the Mofussil for their own advantage, of their own free will, and not of compulsion. I repeat, I see no reason why those persons would be exempted any more than the Hindoos and Mahomedans, Frenchmen and Germans, Americans and Russians. If the Courts are good enough for the millions of India, they should be good enough for a small body of dominant men." "What is sauce for the gander is sauce for the goose." Why, our British fellow subjects are ready enough to invoke the protection of the Courts when their indigo is damaged by trespassing cattle or other cause. Why should they then repudiate the same Courts when they are charged with forcing the cultivation of Indigo? They would work them freely and frequently against the rival Zemindar, or the defaulting Ryot. Why should they then ignore them when complained against by the Zemindar and the Ryot? I do not, sir, for the life of me, understand why they should avail themselves of the Courts when they have

any thing to ■■■, but should do so then authoritatively and decisively when they have any thing to lose.

"The exemptions still in force are a curse, when they are applied so that under all circumstances, and at all times and for their own exclusive advantage, they can import the institutions, laws, and privileges of British subjects to the places to which they are attracted solely by the prospect of benefit to themselves. The thing is not only impracticable, but in many cases, were it to take place, it would lead to the practice of the grossest and most unjust and to the systematic oppression of the natives whose rights are equally entitled to respect. Englishmen sought India. India did not seek Englishmen. The laws of this country are made for tens of millions of the children of the soil and not for a few hundreds or a few thousands of the conquering race who may please to cast their lot in the Mofussil for their advantage. It is for them to balance the probabilities of temporary exultation or even against the evils and privations attendant to the new sphere of enterprise. It is for them to accommodate themselves to the laws of the new country, and not to demand that Westminster Hall should be translated into every Zillah and every Pergunnah."

Mr. George Thompson, late M. P., in moving another resolution, declaring the confidence of the community in the uncovenanted judicial officers of the Government, thus addressed the meeting:

"Let me congratulate you upon the fact that the principle for which you are this day exerting is safe. Notwithstanding what was done in this Hall, a few weeks ago by a portion of my countrymen, who deemed it their duty as it was undoubtedly their right, to hold a public meeting to petition and memorialize in favor of the continuance of a special exemption from the criminal jurisdiction of the Mofussil Courts, the principle of non-exemption is safe. The immunity claimed is condemned by every enlightened class of the British community, nor is it in the power of the Legislative Council of India, nor of the Governor General by the exercise of the veto, nor of any other man or body of men, to reverse a decision which has been arrived at, after more mature deliberation than has perhaps ever been given to any other

measure, connected with the administration of this country. The question is decided—the exemption claimed must cease and determine, and all classes of her Majesty's subjects in India must henceforth be subject to the same jurisdiction, and to the same penal code and criminal procedure. It is my conviction, the measure to which you have pledged your support in the first resolution is just, wise, timely and politic, and that the day of its adoption, with the sanction of law, will be the commencement of a new and brighter era in the history of British India. I know that many of you, whom I now address, have often met under this roof in support of important and patriotic objects, but you have never before asserted a principle of greater moment than that which you are now contending for, nor have ever achieved a greater triumph than that which you will have achieved when this measure shall have taken its place amongst the laws of your country, and shall have levelled the distinctions of which you now justly complain.”

Baboo Joykisson Mookerjee, one of the largest and most intelligent Zemindars then spoke in support of the same resolution. After mentioning the imperfections of the Mofussil Courts, he said

“After making these admissions, freely and candidly, let me ask my European fellow citizens, what right they have to ask for an exemption from the ordinary Courts of the country in which they have chosen to come and carry on commerce, trade, and acquire property with the same rights and privileges, as are enjoyed by the children of the soil. If they like to enjoy the good, they must put up with the ill, if there be any. No European, as far as the public is aware, has yet scrupled to prosecute a Native in the Country Courts merely because justice would not be done to him (the native) in consequence of the alleged incapacity of the Mofussil Judges. yet we find people with brains and hearts to claim exemption for themselves from such courts. How improper and inequitable it is to say, that we will help ourselves with your goods but not of your evils. This is the fat and marrow of the argument of those who decline to be exempted from the common Courts of the country, but let us see if their conduct and character during the last twenty five years, which Europeans have

been admitted freely into the country, and permitted to hold landed property, has been such as to render them exempt from all legal restrictions, which is virtually the case, as long as they remain amenable to a Court many hundred miles distant from the scene of action. If the law of libel be suspended for a time, I can reveal unwelcome facts of atrocious crime and oppression, which will even astound the staunchest but right-minded advocates of exclusion."

Baboo Romunath Tagore, brother to the late Dwarkanath Tagore, followed Baboo Joykissen Mookorjee. He declared that "The Indian planters, whose interests are identical with the natives, ought not to clamour against their being amenable to the Company's Courts. Let them co-operate with the natives, and use their best exertions to improve the laws and procedure of the Mofussil Courts."

The last time the subject came under public notice was on the 2nd November 1857, when a despatch from the Court of Directors was read at the meeting of the Hon'ble the Legislative Council requesting the latter to postpone legislation on it, until the question had been referred to that body, accompanied by a statement of the views of the Local Authorities, and the measure had received their approbation. It is to be hoped that the Hon'ble the Court of Directors, who have always advocated the measure, will not now abandon it. I am convinced that it will ultimately be passed by Parliament, because its prevailing opinion, for many years, has been that while the broad realms of India should be open as a field of honorable adventure and enterprise to all Englishmen, such persons should be subject to the criminal courts of the district in which they might settle of their own will and for their own personal advantage, and not be exempted from the operation of such courts by reason of their place of birth and descent. Parliament has invariably affirmed the

principle of equality of law, and distinctly and emphatically held that there was not one law for one and another for the other. It might be stated by the exemptionists that the mutinies must change the policy of Government, and was a sufficient reason for the perpetuation of their privilege. I reply that truth is eternal and immutable, and that the principle of equality of law—equality as respects the tribunals—equality as respects penalties—equality as respects the individual offender is a great truth which is not affected by any human event. I see in the mutiny which has occurred, additional and strong reasons for the assertion and impartial application of the principle of the Non Exemption Law. Already the importation of large numbers of European Soldiers and Seamen has occasioned the perpetration of many insults, outrages, and other injuries on the unoffending natives. These will recur, in still greater numbers and aggravation, as Europeans multiply throughout the country, and it will be essential therefore to justice and equal Government, that there should be no respect of persons in the administration of criminal justice, or in the tribunals to which they may be amenable. The natives should not be tempted to take the law into their own hands in consequence of the denial of equal justice by the existing Code.

I have felt it my duty to speak at some length on this branch of the subject, because it appears to me that the petition under notice, is the result of the exacerbaton caused by the "attempted imposition" to quote its language of the "Black Act" It is a continuation of that angry and obstinate opposition which has been raised against that measure since the last twenty years.

The cloven foot of the Anti Back-Acting talors peeps through every sentence in the document. Pre-empting to be exclusively and intensely loyal, they would make their loyalty the ground for their exemption from the jurisdiction of the Madras Criminal Courts. They would make political capital of the crisis. It has been to them what the greased cartridge has been to the revolted Sepoys.

The petition concludes with praying for "the removal of the Government of the country from the East India Company and the substitution in its stead of the direct Government of the Crown, with an open Legislative Council, Queen's Courts presided over by trained lawyers, and with the English language as the Official Court language." I am strongly of opinion that the removal of the Government of the East India Company and the substitution of that of the Queen would be any thing but a boon to our country. It would be going over an unknown ocean without a Chart or Compass. It is besides an egregious mistake to suppose that the Government of the East India Company is independent of or irresponsible to the British Cabinet. It is substantially as much a Crown Government as if it were administered by the ministers. Every one acquainted with the constitution and functions of the Board of Control and the Court of Directors will admit this point.

The authority of the Board of Control was created by a statute passed in 1781. Its powers were defined and confirmed by a charter Act passed in 1793. They were again regulated and enlarged by the two succeeding charter Acts of 1813 and 1833 and finally adjusted and settled by the last charter Act. The Presi-

dent of the Board is invariably selected by the Crown as one of those Ministers to whom the management of the affairs of this vast Empire is delegated. With him are associated the Prime Minister, the Minister of the Finance and most of the other Ministers. These latter do not receive any salary but are *ex officio* members of the Board. The President is a salaried officer. The Board is functioned "to superintend, direct and control all acts, operations and concerns of the Company which in any manner relate to, or concern the Government or the revenues of the territories of India." It acts in immediate communication with the whole body of the Queen's Ministers, and all its proceedings are as much under the supervision of the Imperial Legislature as those of the latter. It will be therefore perceived that the Board is so organised as not only to check and control the proceedings of the Directors, but to bring the direct influence of Parliament to bear on those proceedings.

The Court of Directors was created by a statute of Parliament. It governs according to laws passed by that authority. It was formerly composed of twenty four members. Until the year 1853, the Directors were elected from among the proprietors, the pecuniary qualification being the possession of stock to the amount of twenty thousand Rupees in Indian coin but the Charter Act of that year introduced an organic change in the Direction. It reduced the number of members to eighteen, twelve of whom are elected by the proprietors and six appointed by the Crown. They are required to take the oath of office "to be faithful to the Company and give their best advice, counsel and assistance for the support of the good Government of the Company." The

Court is divided into several Committees for facilitating business and ensuring deliberation, such as the Committee of Correspondence, the Secret or Political Committee, the Law and Equity Committee and the Library Committee. These Committees are required to investigate and report on subjects with which they are familiar by reason of previous experience or study, but they are not authorised to carry into effect their suggestions. They are simply deliberative but not executive Committees.

The Court is vested with the powers of action and initiation, because it is possessed of that special knowledge and experience which are the best qualification for the exercise of those powers. But the confirmation of the measures that may be proposed by it rests with the Board, which is directly responsible to the English Nation. Nominally, the Court exercises supreme authority over the Local Governments, but substantially, it acts under the Board. The Court governs according to laws passed by Parliament, and its authority cannot therefore be supreme or absolute.

But the Court can not only originate, and with the sanction of the Board carry into effect, measures for the good government of this country. It has not only the initiative and executive powers but it has the legislative power. It is true the 1st Charter created the Legislative Council of India, but its acts may be annulled by the Court. The establishment of that Council, and the progress of this country in civilization and enlightenment, however require that the Court should cease to exercise this power. It might very properly have appertained to the Court in former times, but the genius of the age demands the independence of the Indian Parliament.

I do not deny that the abolition of this double Government and the substitution of the Crown Government would indirectly benefit this country, by bringing her affairs more frequently than at present before the eyes of Parliament. But we must recollect that Parliament cannot legislate for India. There are not many men in the House of Commons or the House of Lords unconnected with India, who thoroughly understand her condition and wants, or are competent to deal with them. Doubtless there are many members who might comprehend such large and broad questions as the condition of the Ryots, but I fear that but few of them could grapple with intricate questions involving an intimate acquaintance with the character and customs of the people or the revenue or judicial administration. Those who recollect Sir John Packington's off hand way of dealing with the Salt-Monopoly, will agree with me on this point. In truth no English Government could possess that intimate acquaintance with the affairs of our country which the Court of Directors must, from its organization possess. It consists of persons who have spent the best years of their lives and have the largest stakes in this country. It consists of others who are selected by the Crown and who represent the English Element. The latter cannot fail to exercise a salutary influence over its proceedings.

The Court, in its corporate capacity, is neither Whig nor Tory. It has no sympathy in the political creed of Lord John Russell or the Earl of Derby. Its separation from all party-politics constitutes another essential qualification for Government, and in truth affords the best guarantee for the impartial administration of the affairs entrusted to it.

Such is the system that has grown with the growth of this marvellous Empire, and I am strongly persuaded that any change that would destroy that system, would be destructive to the Empire. I admit it has its defects. I know the Board of Control frequently represents Dickens' Circumlocution Office. I believe the Court of Directors' possession of the legislative power operates prejudicially on the action of the Legislative Council. I think the Council should be thrown open and the unofficial and native element introduced into it. I think that the Civil Service, though no longer a close corporation, yet should be rendered more practically accessible to merit here as well as elsewhere, by authority being given to the local Government to institute the competitive examinations. I believe that the Company thus improved and regenerated, will more effectually serve as a shield of protection to the children of the soil than the Crown Government administered at a distance can be. If it has imperfections (and what form of human Government has not?) rectify them, but its abolition will certainly not benefit a country which has progressively improved under its enlightened auspices.

With regard to the introduction of English law and English language in the Mofussil Courts, and the appointment of Barristers fresh from England to preside over those Courts (as advocated by the petitioners) I believe that neither of those measures would be an improvement.

English law may be the perfection of reason, but I fear our countrymen are not yet prepared to appreciate and enjoy such perfection. Its complex machinery

would be all suited to their simple habits, primitive customs and peculiar social system. We are assured by the Hon ble Mr Halliday no mean authority on the subject that the "Mofussil administration will *ceteris paribus* be generally efficient while it is certain to be also acceptable to the people according to the degree in which it conforms to the simple or Oriental in preference to the complex or European model." In spite of its many excellencies, the law of England has been pronounced by some of the best and most profound Jurisconsults to be an immenso chaotic mass of undigested details of positive law, wanting system and arrangement and beyond the grasp of the most powerful intellect. Her statute-book is generally considered deficient in that systematic arrangement, lucid statement, and scientific expression which pre-eminently distinguish the Code Napoleon. I therefore strongly doubt that its introduction into this country, before its simplification and codification are effected, as I sincerely trust they will be by the new Association for the promotion of social science, would be a blessing to her. The introduction of the English language as the Court language, would be simply a retrograde movement. Again, the importation of English Barristers would be infinitely worse than the importation of English law. This supposed panacea, far from curing the evils complained of, would aggravate them. I do not deny the necessity and importance of having trained lawyers, but I fail to see how they may be represented by Barristers fresh from the Inns of Courts and absolutely ignorant of the language and character of the people. I decidedly object to inundating our *Adawlut*s with such men. They would be simply tools in the hands of those Sheristadars and Peshkars.

Such is the petition which the speaking and the suffering portion of our European fellow subjects have forwarded to the Imperial Legislature of England. But it is cheering to know that the upper ten thousand of England, both here and elsewhere neither recognize the justice of their demands nor participate in those feelings of intense selfishness and increasing antipathy towards the natives which have dictated the document in question. Indeed, the power of Government has restrained them from giving full play to their malevolent feelings. They have not only chafed and foamed and struggled under the salutary restraint, but “plied fantastic tricks before High Heaven.” They, at one time, proposed to gag the Native Press as contradistinguished from the European Press. At another time, they proposed to disarm the entire native population and place them under the tender mercies of the European settlers. At another time, they proposed to displace, by main force, the constituted authorities and usurp their functions. At last, in the fullness of time, and in the plenitude and omnipotence of their wisdom, they sent forth, as mentioned before, a petition to the Queen praying for the recall of Lord Canning because forsooth he refused to accede to their preposterous demands—because he refused to forget his duty by the people he was sent to govern—because he refused to wage a crusade against them—because he refused to proclaim a policy of blind, bloody and indiscriminating vengeance, instead of stern, inflexible but discriminating justice.

This petition to the Queen has been answered by the natives of India. On the 11th December, 1857, they forwarded to Lord Canning an address expressive of their deep sense of gratitude for the justice and wisdom of his

measures at this crisis, and their grave disapprobation of the violent and unjust attacks levelled against his administration. Those attacks, it must be recollected, have been conducted by men who represent no public body and who took no steps to elicit the expression of public opinion. I therefore deny that the petition to Parliament or the petition to the Queen, is a representation of the public, or even the European mind, because the whole English population, unconnected with the covenanted and uncovenanted services, scarcely numbers eleven thousand persons. But the address to Lord Canning embodies the sentiments of more than five thousand of the *elite* of the native public. In accepting it, the Governor General in Council states that he "sees among the numerous signatures the names of men of ancient lineage, of vast possessions, and of great wealth: of men of cultivated intelligence, who have been foremost in measures of beneficence in the encouragement of education, and in works of material public improvement. men, whose influence with their fellow countrymen is deservedly great, and whose interest in the peace and well being of India it would be difficult to exaggerate."

Since the above was written, I have learnt, but not with surprise, that the famous petition for the recall of Lord Canning has not been received by the august personage to whom it was addressed. Its fate affords a melancholy illustration of the old adage that man proposes but God disposes. I would, if permitted, suggest the petitioners again trying Her Majesty, but they should this time demand the removal not only of the Governor General but of Lord Palmerston and his colleagues.

I also emphatically deny that the so called Reform League is ■ indication of the public opinion. It is notorious that it has been got up by certain self seeking Barristers who wish to make legal capital of the present conjuncture. In truth, they want to secure the Indigo planting interest, and know that it cannot be secured without pleading for the present exemption law, which enables those who represent it to take the law into their own hands. The programme of the League is, as I have said before, ■ mere echo of the petitions. Like those documents, it advocates the removal of the Government of British India from the East India Company, and the establishment of the direct government of the Crown, "the uniform and due administration of justice on the principles of English law," "the appointment of Barristers to Mofussil Courts, and the adoption of the English language to be the language of those Courts."

Besides these organic changes, the League advocates measures, some of which are highly desirable, such as the abolition of stamps and other taxes on the administration of justice, the improvement of the police system and the revision of the fiscal regulations, with a view to the promotion of industrial enterprise, while others are highly objectionable and calculated to put back the country instead of advancing her in the scale of nations. These are, the "constitution of a Legislative Council to be composed of independent persons, chosen from the *British* community of India" and "the throwing open of all civil employments to all *Europeans* without distinction," thereby ignoring the entire native population of the country. These measures are dictated by motives so palpably selfish and interested that I would not waste

any argument to show their injustice and impolicy. It is a case as Mr Lang would say 'of all pork and nothing like the pork.' While I have proceeded thus far a witty and facetious European Clergyman no phenomenon in India—whispers into my ears that the Indigo Planters and other members of the adventurer class, who claim their right of exemption from the jurisdiction of Mofussil Courts, and who would monopolize all the seats in the Legislative Council, and other high posts, to the exclusion of the Natives, have been condemned by their own Missionaries, *vide* the case of Cuthbert vs. Forbes and others. I may add that the circumstance that execution has not followed judgment, is no reason why we should question the righteousness of the decision pronounced by the public. A Legislative Council chiefly composed of Messrs. Blue and Brainless, would be a curse to the country. It would substitute Padlingonian for Imperial legislation. It would sacrifice the interests of the People to those of the *Meerungunge*, *Bansbaria* and other concerns with which Jossore and Rajshye are studded. It would play Ducks and Drakes with our revenues and the very deuce with our institutions. The *Saturday Review*, the organ of a large section of thoughtful Englishmen, repudiates the preposterous claims of the aforesaid Messrs. Blue, Brainless and Co. It asks "What right has a man to rule an immense and populous country because he happens to have selected it as a field for speculation? Is an adventure in indigo planting, or an expedition to a hot latitude in search of briefs, to entitle every chance of Englishman to a share in the most prodigious oligarchy which the world will have seen. Such a government would mismanage

because it would be too busy with its commercial speculations, it would job because its interest in India would by the assumption be sordid and personal. And it would owe to no more privilege of race an unnatural authority which it never deserved nor was." The writer of this has resided in several indigo districts and was brought into familiar contact with Indigo planters. He has invariably found that while the intelligent, honest and benevolent among them are satisfied with the present facilities afforded to them for carrying on their pursuits, the half-educated, violent, and unscrupulous are the loudest in their complaints against the Mofussil Courts, and in their demands for larger powers and more exclusive privileges.

I have not endeavored to offer in these brief observations an exposition of the causes of the Mutiny, because I believe it is one of those sudden revolutions which occasionally sweep over our ill-fated country. It would have equally taken place if the Government had been administered by the Crown through a Colonial Secretary, or as it is now proposed by a Secretary of State assisted by six Under-Secretaries as Heads of departments. To attribute it to the Court of Directors, or the local Government, argues gross ignorance of the constitution and functions of the former, and rabid hostility to the latter. I am fully aware of the short-comings of both these bodies, but I cannot acknowledge the justice of immolating them at the shrine of Nemesis, because a national victim is required for her propitiation. That the mutiny was not anticipated by the foresight of Lord Canning, Mr. Halliday or Mr. Beadon is because they are men, not endowed with omniscience, but subject to the infirmi-

ties of humanity. But the justice and wisdom of the measures of the administration, of which they are members, have called forth the admiration and gratitude of the People. The future historian of India will record how, when the mutiny broke out, the Government displayed that vigour and promptitude which were required by the emergency—how speedily it concentrated all the available force on the salient points,—how it intercepted Lord Elgin's expedition destined for China,—how it made effective arrangements for importing an immense number of European troops from England, and transmitting them to the upper Provinces with the least practicable delay—how, when a large portion of our non-official European fellow-subjects demanded punishment without trial, punishment without conviction, punishment confounding the innocent with the guilty in its execution, Government, instead of adopting their cut-throat policy, wisely, firmly and humanely directed that as all the natives were not the enemies of British supremacy the well affected among them should be protected from the insane fury of the blood-mongers—how, when our shrieking Indigo Planters and Barristers attempted to clamour down our countrymen, the Representative of the Queen in India, and his responsible counsellors, came forward to assure them that their loyalty was unquestionable, and that their confidence in their administration was a source of strength to it.

Is the Government, I repeat, to be victimized because a great and unexpected calamity has occurred? I firmly believe that no human foresight could have anticipated it. It is like the outbreak of that fell disease, cholera, which periodically precipitates into eternity thousands

of the natives. The extinction of the Directors, and the transfer of the Government to the Crown, appears to be the popular punice, but the remedy will prolong the disease. Abolish the Directors and you postpone indefinitely the suppression of the mutiny.

/ I believe the mutiny may be traced to several *proble-*
mate causes some of which have been in operation since the commencement of the British dominion, and are inherent in the constitution of all military despoticisms however beneficent, while others are still wrapt up in mystery. Among the former is the systematic exclusion of the natives from official employment of a superior character. That the British rule has proved incalculably beneficial to our country does not admit of a moment's question. It has afforded us protection from external violence and internal commotion. It has largely contributed to the development of the resources of our country and been eminently advantageous to the agricultural and mercantile population. But it has failed to foster the growth of an upper class, which would have served as a connecting link between the government and the mass of the people. The higher orders of the Natives have, ever since its commencement, been shut out of all avenues to official distinction. They may acquire, like the late Baboo Mutty Lall Seal, colossal fortunes in commercial and other pursuits, or obtain diplomas and honours in Colleges and Universities, but they cannot be admitted into the Civil Service or the higher grades in the Military Service without undertaking a voyage to England and complying with other equally and practically impossible conditions. The highest situations to which they can aspire, are Deputy

Magistrateships and Sudder Amceenships The army offers no prize for which it would be worth their while to strive. The 87th clause of the Charter Act of 1833 declared the eligibility of the natives to all situations under Government, but it has remained all but a dead letter. Though all the distinguished statesmen of India have denounced the selfish policy of denying them all share in the administration of their own country, and have borne their testimony to the efficiency of native agency, yet the Government has not, till within a recent period, been able to carry out, to any appreciable extent, their enlightened views. "The main evil of our system," said Sir Thomas Munro, "is the degraded state in which we hold the natives. We suppose them to be superstitious, ignorant, prone to falsehood and corrupt. In our well-meaning zeal for their welfare, we shudder at the idea of committing to men so depraved any share in the administration of their country. We exclude them from every situation of trust and emolument. We confine them to the lowest offices with scarcely a bare subsistence, and even these are left in their hands from bare necessity, because Europeans are utterly incapable of filling them. We treat them as an inferior race of beings. Men, who under a Native Government, might have held the first dignities of the state, who but for us, might have been Governors of provinces, are regarded as little better than menial servants, and are often no better paid and scarcely permitted to sit in our presence. We reduce them to this abject state, and then look upon them with disdain as men unworthy of high station. Under most of the Mahomedan Princes of India, the Hindoos were eligible to all Civil situations of Government, and they

frequently possessed a more important share in them than their conquerors" Again. Lord Metcalfe was of opinion that "The difficulty of procuring efficient European superintendence, whether originating in climate, difference of habits, language and other circumstances, are so numerous and overwhelming, that it is worth while to consider whether there is not a fair prospect of the duty being done by other means not only cheaper but more effectually. It is well known that in some districts almost the whole business has been done by natives, though their European employers have enjoyed the credit, and it is absurd to suppose that the former should be less able to do well when working in their own responsibility. The deplorable system under which advantages are reaped by one, while the labour is performed by another, has been too long the bane of the country." True, things are not now quite so bad as when these liberal sentiments were put on record. The Government has, for several years, been steadily striving to stir the ambition and stimulate the exertions of the educated natives by appointing them to places of trust and emolument. But what has been done is nothing compared with what remains to be done. Hear Sir Charles Napier who will be accepted as an authority by even the Reform Leaguers and the Calcutta Petitioners "We must mix with the people, give them justice, give them riches, give them honours, give them share in all things until we blend with them, and become one nation. When a half caste or a full Native can be Governor General, we shall not hold India as a colony or conquest but be part inhabitants and as numerous as will be required to hold it as our own." If this wise and generous

policy had been pursued by all the former administrations, we should have seen all the surplus energy of India, which is now arrayed against the Government, enlisted in its behalf.

I am fully aware of the other proximate causes of the mutinies, such as the paucity of experienced European officers—their hauteur, and isolation from the native officers which created a gulf of severance between the two classes, and prevented them from entering into the feelings of each other but I find it is impossible to dwell upon those causes within the limits I have proscribed to myself.

The English Press has attempted, but in vain, to account for the mutiny. One paper has stated that it is the result of the joint and combined efforts of the Kings of Delhi and Oude. Another has gravely opined that it is the effect of a gigantic conspiracy of the Hindus and Mahomedans to overthrow the British Government. I, for one, do not believe there was any alliance between the octogenarian and puppet Emperor of Delhi and the effete and imbecile Nabob of Lucknow. They might have singly concerted the thing, but they are morally incapable of union and co-operation. They could not have put their heads together and set to work for tampering with the Sepoys, simply because they are not long-headed men. Neither do I believe that the junction of the two antagonistic races of Hindoos and Mahomedans was effected, and as supposed, embodied in a treaty offensive and defensive. If the Mahomedans had any secrets, the great body of the Hindu soldiers could not be trusted with them, because a change of rulers would have been, to the latter, a loss and not a gain, a curse and not a blessing. It

may be that the prospect of such a change might, and did perhaps to a considerable extent, move the Mussulman sepoys. They have never been reconciled to the British Rule but look upon it as usurping the place of their own. But Messrs. Pandey and Doboy have enough of what "*Punch*" calls the sixth sense to understand that the re-establishment of Mahomedan tyranny would be a mockery. I do not believe that there was any organised conspiracy embracing the whole army. I do not believe that every corps had its secret political club and committee of correspondence, not only because it is composed of members of races which are essentially antagonistic, but, because it is a fact that the contagion of mutiny was caught by several regiments which had never dreamt of revolting.

Another theory which has been set up by the *Newspapers* for the solution of this problem, is the progress of native education. But instead of accounting for the sepoy mutiny, it accounts, in my opinion, for the marked distinction which exists between the conduct of the rebellious Bengal Army, and of the loyal Bengal population. That the people of Bengal are as loyal as the people of Yorkshire, is chiefly owing to their advancement in education. They are far too intelligent and enlightened to be either ignorant of the resources of England or incapable of appreciating the blessings of her rule. If education had extended to the army, it would not have revolted against the most liberal of masters. If, for instance, the native Commissioned Officers had been persons of cultivated intelligence, they would not have cherished the huge delusion that it was the deliberate intention of government to overthrow the Hindoo and

Mahomedan religions, and to force down Christianity into their throats. But I believe their ignorance, as regimental officers, as commanders of men, and as the medium of communication between the bulk of the army and the European officers, have laid them open to that delusion and is another proximate cause of the sepoy mutiny.

Nothing can be more preposterous than to assign the progress of native education as the cause of the insurrection. It is the ignorance and superstition of the sepoys, and not the education of the native gentry, that has caused it. Knowledge is not only Power. It is essentially and emphatically Safety. The moral and intellectual enlightenment of the people of this country, cannot be effected without additional security being thereby given against delusions, such as those which have now shaken the empire to its foundations. It has been so ordained by the Almighty and Beneficent Author of our being, that the development of the mental faculties, with which He has endowed us, cannot be continued without dispelling those prejudices and errors which menace the peace of society as well as of individuals. It is not therefore the shutting up of the Presidency and other Colleges, but the multiplication of such educational institutions, and the carrying out the noble educational Dispatch of the Court of Directors fully and fairly that will prevent a recurrence of the gigantic calamity which we are now deploring. Educate the people, and the Soobadar, Muzar and Ilwilder will be as devotedly attached to the British rule as the Zemindar and Mahajun. Educate the people, and you will find the Ryot of every village, instead of fraternising like his brother of Oude with

the rebels, will hunt them down in every corner. Educate the people, and England, instead of losing India, will, to borrow (with some slight alterations) the words of my eloquent and respected friend Dr. Duff, be married to her in the covenant of a political, social, intellectual and spiritual relationship, and the waters of the Thames will, as 't were in a ecstasy of gladness at so auspicious a union, kiss those of the Ganges and cause the forests of ancient Albion in the exuberance of sympathetic delight, to clip their lands over the spicy groves and palmy plains of India.

FINIS